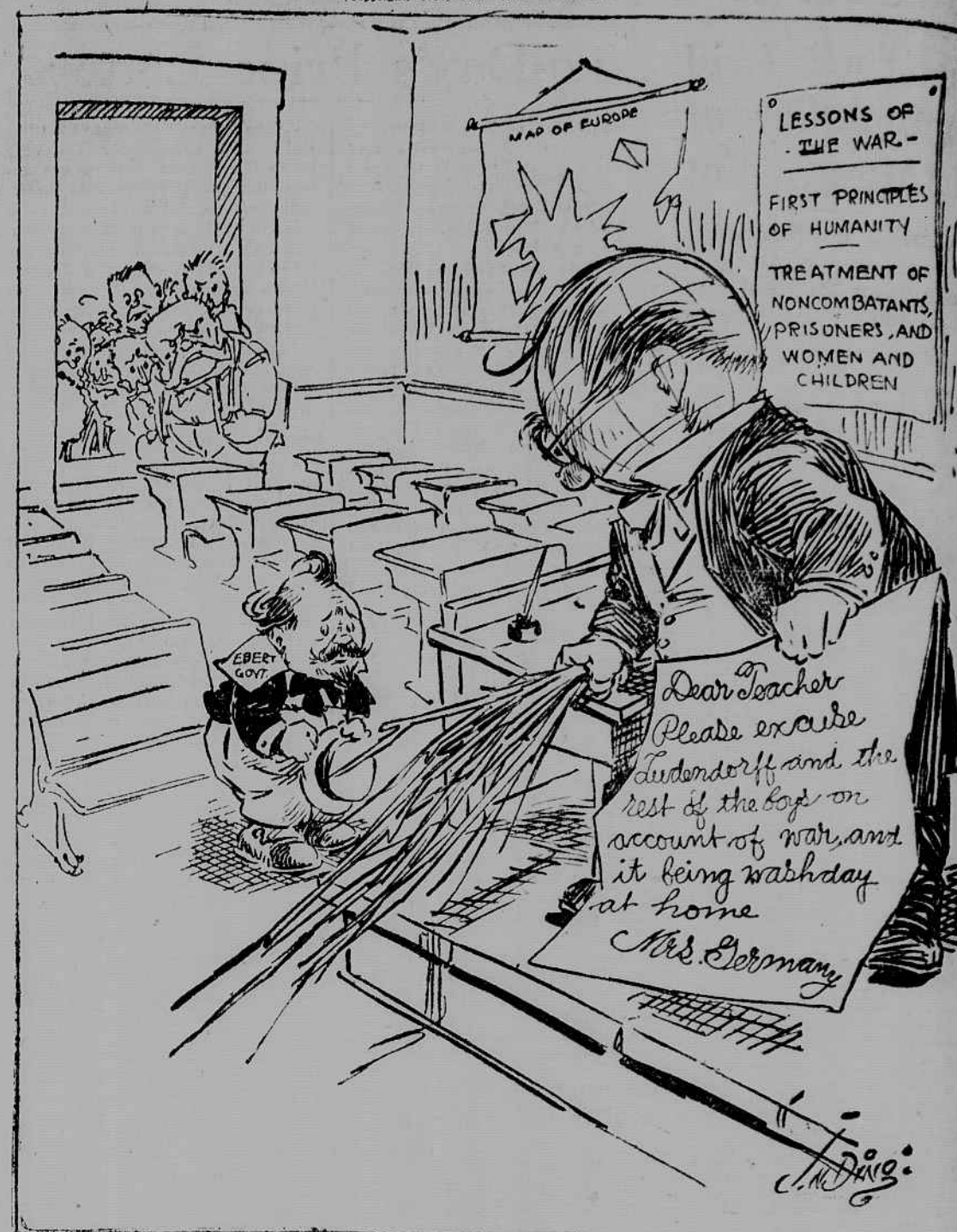


(Copyright, 1920, New York Tribune Inc.)



The New Adriatic Crisis

By Frank H. Simonds

The refusal of the Jugo-Slavs to accept what amounts to an ultimatum served upon them by Britain and France in the matter of Fiume and the whole Adriatic dispute is a natural and logical consequence of the course of President Wilson in dealing with this difficult problem in the Paris Conference. It is one more example of the weakness of principles of abstract justice uncomplicated by any effective force.

President Wilson's decision in the matter of Fiume was just, his conclusion that the terms of the Secret Treaty of London made between the British, French and Russians, on the one hand, and Italy on the other, made with the express purpose of enlisting Italy in the war, were inequitable, so far as they deprived Slavs of the right of self-determination and placed in Italian hands territories which were clearly Croat and Serb, was inescapable. So also was his opposition to the inclusion of Fiume within the frontiers of Italy, which would put the Italians in possession of the single satisfactory sea gate for Jugo-Slav commerce.

By Words Alone

But it was one thing to decide on the merits of the dispute, it was another to undertake to fortify Slav determination by words alone. Once Mr. Wilson had declared against the Italian claims it was certain that this encouragement would lead the Slavs themselves to stand firm for their rights. President Wilson's course was calculated to remove all readiness on the part of the Belgrade government to compromise. Indeed, any compromise would fatally weaken the Jugo-Slav unity, for the Slovenes and the Croats would hold such a surrender of their interests by the Belgrade government as a demonstration of the weakness of any union with the Serbs. Moreover, when Britain and France, honestly anxious to aid the Jugo-Slavs, so far as was possible, but bound to reckon with the Italian case, both because of their signature attached to the Treaty of London and because of the general European situation, undertook to find a basis for agreement, the course of the President, in declining to be a party to any such arrangement, still further fortified the Slavs in their determination to maintain their rights.

A sentiment of the Adriatic question would have been possible at Paris months ago, if the President had been willing to accept any compromise based upon the European facts or if he had been prepared to support the Jugo-Slav claims, which he had recognized as just in his public utterances. But any compromise would have meant the invasion of the principles he had advocated, any employment of force, however, removed from military or naval circumstances, would have meant an international incident.

A Year of Chaos

President Wilson would do neither one thing nor the other. Having proclaimed a policy, which was just, having advocated principles which were beyond debate, he relied upon the principles to do the fighting and he declined both to give force to the principles and to permit any compromise which would eliminate the ugly international crisis at the expense of the principles.

The result has been nearly a year of chaos. Even a compromise which left scars would not have provoked more animosity between the Southern

Not a Contractor

Jackling Had His Dollar Framed, Says Sec. Baker

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In your issue of February 9, under the caption "Cheapened Military Awards," you comment editorially and adversely upon the award of the Distinguished Service Medal to Mr. Daniel C. Jackling.

The testimony of Colonel Thomas M. Spaulding, upon which your editorial is based, was misinterpreted by the newspapers and has subsequently been corrected by their publication of a letter of protest from Colonel Spaulding. The facts in the case are quite simple. The award of this medal was recommended by the board of which Colonel Spaulding was a member; they did not protest against it in any sense, either on the ground of its legality or fitness. I approved the recommendation of the board gladly, because I know of the distinguished service rendered by Mr. Jackling. He was never in any sense a contractor, but when it became necessary for the United States rapidly and largely to increase its supply of smokeless powder the War Department faced the alternative of making a contract with one of the existing private powder companies or building its own powder plant. As the result of several conferences it was determined to secure a man of large industrial experience and great driving force to take charge for the government of the erection of such a plant. Mr. Jackling was selected without his knowledge, and when he came to Washington he accepted my request that he take charge of the matter merely as a matter of patriotic service. He received for his services throughout the entire period the sum of one dollar, which I am told he has had framed and has hanging in his office. He was not a contractor in any sense of the word, but he did, as director of explosives, superintend the making and letting of a large number of contracts and their execution, all to the very great advantage of the government, and in an entirely unselfish and patriotic spirit.

NEWTON D. BAKER,

Secretary of War.

New York, Feb. 7, 1920

Next to Godliness

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In these days of municipal maladministration and widespread civic irresponsibility one is cheered, as well as made more comfortable, by seeing a glowing exception to the general rule.

This letter is a sincere tribute of an unprejudiced outsider, a grateful neighbor and an interested observer to the Union Theological Seminary for the impressive demonstration by that institution of social conscience and civic virtue.

During the present snow invasion this is the only institution or city block in the upper part of the city within the knowledge of the writer which has demonstrated exemplary conduct.

By Saturday night the sidewalks on four sides of the seminary block, more than 1,000 feet in length and 12 feet wide, were thoroughly cleared of snow down to the cement sidewalk.

This institution deserves generous praise for the contribution thus made to the comfort of travel on foot; to the safety of life and limb, and to the waning confidence and self-respect of citizens inclined to discouragement regarding the future of democracy.

This institution has given an admirable manifestation of proper religion.

New York, Feb. 8, 1920.

The Conning Tower

Such Clean Work!

On the car this mornin' I heard a woman talkin'—
She was on her way to make a speech
On Sir Walter Scott to a woman's club;
She made her livin' that way, she said.
Jes' think of it!
Makin' a livin' givin' talks on authors!
Such clean work!
How I wished I'd got some education
So 'a' I could make a livin' that way
'stead o'
Scrubbin' other folks' bathrooms,
Cleanin' after other folks' parties,
Washin' after other folks' children—
But all the education in my family went
to Julia,
My oldest sister. She was the smartest, an'
my father said
He'd educate her an' she could educate
The rest of us.
We sold off one of the four cows,
The speckled heifer,
To pay her tuition in Miss Willard's 'seminary'.
Once I walked five white miles in a stingin' blizzard
To borrow a dollar to send her
When her groceries give out.
We picked berries all summer an' sold 'em
To lay up her graduation money.
Well, she graduated,
But she never taught me anything.
She jes' set around home an' grieved.
The boys she would have wouldn't have her,
An' them that would have her she wouldn't have;
Finally, she died, an old maid.
An' I never did git no education!
Jes' think of it—
Makin' a livin' givin' talks on authors,
Such nice, refined work,
Such clean work!

ALICE MARY KIMBALL.

Mr. Hoover's statement is a good statement, and we seldom have seen a baccalaureate address that was more intrepid.

Well, Mr. Hoover, like Phyllis in "Jolanthe," knows where to go when he wants a particular party.

The Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys

February 7.—To the office for a few minutes, and thence home to luncheon, and stepped indoors all day, my wife, poor wretch, ill with a cold and fever. Read to her A. A. Milne's "Not That It Matters," amusing essays; and read Miss M. Sinclair's "Mary Oliver," which I held the poorest book she has written, and which disappointed me deeply.

8—Up, and read to my wife W. Thackeray's "Yellowplush Papers," which I read to her fifteen yrs. ago. E. Davis to luncheon, and Mistress Pauline came to supper, and Clara cut me a slice of beef, albeit the others had to put up with cold chicken.

9—My wife ill, and in low spirits, nor do I blame her for it. To the office to do my stint, and hear the Treaty will be ratified soon, with Mr. Lodge's reservations. The streets still full of ice and snow, and the tramcars not moving. A gray world, but I cannot say I do not like it. Talking all day of this and that, and whether Henry Allen will be next President, but few think so save me.

The meeting of the United States Lawn Tennis Association adjourned without adopting a plank urging the citation of the first reporter who refers to Mrs. Franklin I. Mallory without adding "formerly Miss Molla Bjurstedt."

Our prediction is that the players who play handicap tennis to which alone the new scoring system may be applied—won't even know the new system.

Speaking of platform contents, there's a spirited one at the Times Square subway station every evening at about 5:15.

Since the once revered Herald has been melted away to its downtown office, there is a project, we are unreliably informed, to change the up-town designation to R. H. Macy & Co. Saks & Co. Gimbel Bros. Hotel McAlpin-Marbridge Building Square.

Why Telephones Are Busy Overhead in Montague St., Bklyn., by Oscar
"So I picks up the receiver, an' I knew at once it was him, an' I says, 'Who d'ye want?' An' he says, 'Ain't that you, Gladys?'"

"An' what did he say?"
"Well, I says, 'Hello, Bessie.'"
"An' what did he say?"
"He says, 'I knew it was you, Gladys.' An' I says, 'Go on, freshie, you didn't know.' An' he says, 'Sure, I'd know your voice anywhere, cutie.' An' then he says, 'How are you, Gladys?' An' I says, 'Couldn't be better!' An' so I says to him, 'How're you, Bessie?' An' he says to me, 'Couldn't be better!'"
"An' was that all he said?"
"Yeh, that was all."
"Din't he call up to ask you to the movies or anything?"
"Oh, no, he din't call up for anything special. He just calls up like that every day to find out how I'm feeling. Bessie's sort o' nice that way."

Clubwomen are opposed to the Methodist Episcopal Church's appeal to women not to smoke. So are we. It is only in houses where women smoke that there are enough ash receivers and matches.

One expects to see the Broadway tracks emerge from the snow and ice inscribed with that strange device, Excelsior.

O that this too, too, solid ice would melt!

The ice was here, the ice was there, the ice was all around.

F. P. A.

us for reconstruction seems to have been mistaken. The statement of the council calls attention to one circumstance which has been ignored to some extent—that the countries which have recently won their independence will offer new attractions to their own people.

No one can deny, in the light of recent experiences, that the character of immigration should be strictly guarded. But some plan of selective immigration is, as the council says, a pressing need just now. A shortage of 4,000,000 laborers is a menace to the national prosperity.

Not a Candidate

The form and content of Mr. Hoover's statement fully support his announcement: "I have not sought and am not seeking the Presidency."

Any one conversant with American politics knows that a man who is seeking the Presidency must first seek a party nomination. But Mr. Hoover is making no advances to either party. He admits that he doesn't "believe in more than two great parties." But he isn't sure at present which of them he prefers or with which he will vote at the next election.

As a citizen of independent proclivities Mr. Hoover does himself credit by saying:

"I am being urged by people in both parties to declare my allegiance to either one or the other. Those who know me know that I am able to make up my mind when a subject is clearly defined. Consequently until it more definitely appears what the party managers stand for I must exercise a prerogative of American citizenship and decline to pledge my vote blindfold."

What the parties stand for—if it is assumed that nobody knows as yet what they do stand for—will be disclosed fully only after the national conventions meet and adopt platforms. It will then be rather late for a candidate, uncertain up to that hour, to decide with which he is in accord. Unfortunately, too, the Republican and Democratic conventions do not meet at the same time. The former will have nominated a candidate and adjourned before the latter assemblies. And there is no recall for Presidential nominees.

People are, of course, interested in Mr. Hoover's views, whether he is a candidate for a Presidential nomination or not. It is regrettable, therefore, that he didn't make clearer, for the benefit of his chief newspaper supporter, *The World*, as well as for others, his attitude toward ratification of the peace treaty. He says:

"If the treaty goes over to the Presidential election with any reservations necessary to clarify the world's mind that there can be no infringement of the safeguards provided by our Constitution and our nation-old traditions, then I must vote for the party that stands for the league."

If the treaty fails of ratification this winter and becomes an issue in the Presidential campaign, the only likely cleavage between the parties would be on the question whether it should be ratified more or less unconditionally, according to the President's demands, or with substantial reservations, according to the Senate's. Mr. Hoover is understood to have expressed some definite views on this subject in a telegram to the President, as yet unpublished. He didn't express them in his statement of last Sunday.

Being a candidate for the Presidency is something of an art in itself. It is an art in which Mr. Hoover hasn't yet been initiated. And time presses. Perhaps it is just as well that he shouldn't take a hand just now in a game in which he is so inexperienced. He made a great reputation in the war. He is an American of promise, with many years of work ahead of him and he will undoubtedly continue to serve the country with distinction.

The Balking Taxi Driver

A number of our readers are reporting trouble with taxicab drivers who have refused to carry save at an exorbitant rate. Some drivers are blunt and brutal. "I'll take you for a dollar or you'll have to walk," is their ultimatum. Others are more tactful, especially one philosopher at a steering wheel, who is described as defending his action upon the large ground that he believed in the law of supply and demand; and weren't there 100,000,000 other profiteers in America, anyway?

Touching all these episodes we would state that the position of the Department of Licenses and the status of these greedy chauffeurs are certain and clear. The taxicab driver gets his license to operate upon the condition that he shall carry at the legal tariff any one who offers. Rain makes no difference. Neither does snow, in the air or upon the streets. Neither does a passing moment of monopoly, due to a shortage of cars. He must carry any citizen who offers, and at the legal rate. The one restriction is that the citizen shall be and appear to be a respectable member of society, in fit condition to be carried.

So the demand for more than the legal fare, either in advance

or at the end of a trip, is a plain breach of regulations; is illegal and will subject the driver to discipline by the Department of Licenses. If the case is flagrant enough his license will be taken away. The Commissioner of Licenses will appreciate the reporting of any such cases. The car number and the license number should both be taken down and submitted by letter, together with the specifications of the episode. The office of the Division of Licensed Vehicles of the Department of Licenses is at 517 West Fifty-seventh Street. Incidentally, we learn that most of this profiteering thus far reported has turned out to be the work of drivers operating without any license whatever. Such driving is wholly illegal and subjects the guilty chauffeur to arrest and punishment.

Such is the law, and it is obvious that it should be the law. Every honest, law-abiding taxi driver is glad to abide by it. The size of the tip is quite another matter. The irksomeness of bad weather can be taken care of by increasing this extra allowance. Especially when snow-covered streets produce conditions destructive of health, to say nothing of springs, tires, chains and rear axles, it is no more than right that a passenger should consider these items. We believe that all fair-minded travelers do.

The President Analyzed

An Internationalist, Who Sought to Set Up a Super-State

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: What did Woodrow Wilson mean when he said in a speech, referring to the league of nations, substantially as follows: "We are now ready to make the supreme sacrifice, that of casting in our forces with the fortunes of men everywhere?"

What was the "sacrifice" that he considered "supreme" for the United States greater than the sacrifices during the war?

What was his object in appointing himself plenipotentiary to the peace conference, unaccompanied by any real statesmen from within or without the Senate, and surrounding himself with an entourage no one of whom dared to oppose his will?

What was his object in keeping the Senate in almost total ignorance of his efforts to commit the United States to a most radical foreign policy and then, when his plan was made known, in insisting that his work be accepted without mature consideration and without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i"?

And, more recently, what did Woodrow Wilson mean by saying that reservations would "nullify" the treaty and that any alteration of Article X would "cut the heart out of the covenant"?

And, finally, what was the object of his campaign of speed, intolerance and abuse of those who could not agree with him, of his insistence that black was white, of his fraudulent reasons for his stand, as evidenced by the Grey letter, and for the inconsistency, misrepresentation and camouflage that have characterized his attitude from beginning to end?

To the impartial and interested American the answer is becoming daily more apparent, and is merely this: That Woodrow Wilson is an internationalist; that he went to the peace conference for the paramount purpose of erecting a super-state and with the avowed intention, alone and without mandate, of committing his country to this policy of super-government, in which we were bound to lose at least a portion of our sovereignty; that he knew the issue upon which he was last elected was the very antithesis of this, hence intense opposition would develop, and that he was well aware his only chance of converting the American Eagle into an internationalist was in having his work at the peace conference adopted and approved before the sober second sense of the American people could be aroused by having the light of day shed upon the issue.

Am I right?
SON OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
New York, Feb. 5, 1920.

The Foundation of Our Success

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Granting we are in luck by having General Wood as our candidate for President, he could start right in on our Congressmen and Senators and make them give the country a full day's work. We have a far better outlook for sound business and plenty of it at the present time than at any other moment in the comparatively young life of the United States. Make it a point that every child must attend school and see that the teachers are paid living wages. They work harder and many more hours per year than either Congressmen or Senators. Education is the foundation of our country's success. Enact some legislation to assist mothers who are willing to bear children by financial assistance over a certain number of months, to give our country a far happier and healthier lot of youngsters.

WILLIAM W. RAINBRIDGE,
New York, Feb. 5, 1920.

A Minor Detail

(From The Boston Globe)
Is it too much to expect that the mere fact that the Germans signed the treaty containing a clause providing that they should give up to the Allies for trial Germans accused of war crimes should make any difference to them?

A Qualified Critic

(From The Philadelphia North American)
Secretary Daniels' distrust of Admiral Sims' judgment on awards, after Sims' years ashore, as compared with his own, is only natural in one with Josephus' long, long record on the rolling deep.

New York Tribune

First to Last—the Truth: News-Editorials—Advertisements

Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1920.

Owned and published daily by New York Tribune Co., New York City. Editor: Walter Dill Scott. Managing Editor: Walter Dill Scott. Business Manager: Walter Dill Scott. Address: Tribune Building, 115 Nassau Street, New York. Telephone: Beckman 3000.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—BY MAIL, including Postage in the United States and CANADA:

	One Year	Six Months	Three Months
Daily and Sunday	\$11.00	\$6.00	\$3.00
Daily only	8.00	4.00	2.00
Sunday only	3.00	1.50	.75
Sunday only	9.75	5.25	2.50

Entered at the Postoffice at New York as Second Class Mail Matter

GUARANTY
The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for publication of all news dispatches credited to it or to any other source credited to it, and also the local news of special importance published herein. Rights of publication of all other matter herein also are reserved.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
The Associated Press is exclusively entitled to the use for publication of all news dispatches credited to it or to any other source credited to it, and also the local news of special importance published herein. Rights of publication of all other matter herein also are reserved.

Condoning Murder

No new factor has arisen in the problem of punishing the Germans guilty of murder and worse. If they were guilty when the treaty of peace was signed they are just as guilty now. The German people protested long and loud when they signed the treaty. They are still protesting. They are making exactly the excuses and defenses, mingled in the familiar proportions, that were to be expected. Should the Allies therefore waive these charges and punishments? Not if they have any courage left and enough wisdom to see, as they saw a year ago, that one of the few known ways to prevent a recurrence of crime is to punish the guilty.

One of the most impudent of the plights issuing from Germany at the moment is that which declares that to enforce these punishments would be to blot the record of Germany in history for all time. Such a blotting is, in fact, the prime motive for the punishments. A sense of guilt toward the war, its origin and its conduct is still rudimentary beyond the Rhine. The proposed trials, whereby legal evidence against individuals would be presented before judicial tribunals and the facts spread upon a record to be read by generations to come, would do more to repair this error than any other course now open. A thorough beating of the German people upon the battlefield might have helped. But that was not permitted; and it is now impossible. There remains this slower grinding of the mills of God. In many ways, if persisted in and followed out to its logical issue in sentence and execution of those proved guilty, it gives more promise of permanent results than a merely military beating.

But it must be persisted in. To talk of hate in connection with the issue is to talk of something wholly irrelevant. Hate was never the motive for the demand. It should play no more part now than should a weak sentimentalism. As a matter of fact, the processes of punishment, conducted as the Allies propose, with every safeguard of justice and fair play, are not exciting or easy and yield no vent for small hate. They satisfy only an abiding sense of justice and a demand for a solemn warning addressed to future generations. In such spirit were the provisions for the punishment of guilty Germans conceived and drawn. So they should be executed now.

The warning in question is addressed to both nations and individuals. In years to come even a Teutonic general may hesitate to order the ravishment of a village or the execution of hostages by the dozen if his ancestor was put to death or sentenced to jail for exactly the same crime against the laws of civilized warfare. The remedy is not a sure preventive. There is no sure preventive. But it is the best protection against another bestial war that we know.

To do less is to condone the most villainous of crimes and publish to posterity that crime goes unpunished provided only that the rape is wholesale and murder by the squad.

Mr. Gompers Plays Safe

The American Federation of Labor has readopted an old policy in deciding to make a "non-partisan" campaign for control of the next Congress. It is going to play safe and avoid a show-down. This is the strategy which Mr. Gompers has followed since he has been the head of the Federation.

Its advantages are obvious. If the American Federation were to ally itself with the radical Labor party which is being organized for the approaching campaign, it would have to disclose its real strength. It has never been formidable in voting power. It includes only a small percentage of the laboring population, so called. And its own members generally vote as they please.

Mr. Gompers endorsed Mr. Bryan's candidacy in 1908, on the anti-injunction issue. But Bryan was badly beaten. In 1916 he supported Mr. Wilson because of the eight-hour railroad bill. But in 1916 the vote of organized labor didn't reduce Mr. Wilson. All the big industrial states went against him except

Ohio. The President won largely because the split in the Republican party was not entirely repaired. It is extremely difficult to organize and maintain a Labor party in this country. We have no labor class, in the European sense. Those who labor constitute a vast majority. But they have no class consciousness and no common interest. They belong to all classes, all parties and all economic groups. They think as citizens. They resent being labeled economically.

By avoiding the effort to label them for political purposes, the American Federation leaders escape the embarrassment of a count of noses. Indorsing a Republican here and a Democrat there, they hope to elect Congressmen who will be grateful for a support which may have turned the scale in close districts. Thus they stoop to conquer. It is a counsel of prudence.

Mr. Gompers and his associates see that any labor party appealing to the country to indorse such vagaries as the Plumb railroad "socialization" plan would be overwhelmingly defeated. The country is dead set against governmental paternalism, with its inevitable wastefulness, inefficiency and injustice. So the Plumb plan supporters have recognized the inevitable and descended into the bombproof.

The old parties will apparently have the field pretty much to themselves this year. In the economic sense they are both American and anti-Bolshevik. Mr. Gompers has discretion enough to realize that in the present state of public feeling a separate radical labor party movement wouldn't have the ghost of a chance. He is too experienced in politics to allow himself to be made the "goat" of a forlorn straight labor party's hope.

An Impartial Verdict

We hope that the reports from Albany which represent Speaker Sweet as considering the use of prospective appointments to the Board of Regents as a persuasive factor upon up-state Republicans who have become restive listeners to Socialist evidence that proves nothing are unfounded.

The debit side of Mr. Sweet's account in the Socialist trials is already long. It was his own star chamber fashion of initiating the charges and his own sensational method of stating them that stirred the widespread resentment and confounded the whole issue at stake. Out of such blundering beginnings it is exceedingly difficult to obtain a verdict which will satisfy the public of its justness. To complicate the problem further with rumors of patronage is to render the situation hopeless.

Mr. Sweet should deny the reports at once if he is in a position to do so, and the appointments under discussion should bear out his denial. A grave judgment is presently to be reached by the Assembly affecting the substance of our government and the political welfare of our state. Unless every effort is made to remove politics and patronage from influencing that verdict it cannot command respect.

We have not observed any large evidence of Mr. Sweet's statesmanship in the past. But we should think that even he could see that his one hope of rehabilitation in the public regard lay in bending every effort toward securing an impartial and fair verdict upon the five suspended Socialists. To convict them by a dragging of a party vote would complete his undoing. Whatever the verdict, it should bear plain evidence of being the fair and courageous judgment of the jury. Neither the Republican party nor the State of New York can accept less.

The Need of Immigration

That the war would affect immigration in one of two ways was long ago foreseen. Either there would be a renewal of the oldtime flood or it would come close to failing altogether. A recent statement of the Inter-Racial Council, along with other evidence, shows that the latter alternative has been realized. A million workers have emigrated from the United States since the armistice, and as many more are preparing to leave. Not more than 300,000 immigrants are expected during the present year, although as many as 4,000,000 more laborers will be needed. It is obvious that the labor unions are disturbing themselves needlessly if they fear ruinous competition from newcomers.

The shortage will naturally exaggerate conditions already serious. The need of production was never greater than now. Yet labor is apparently bent on restricting its output. With more work to be done and fewer to do it, the cry still is for greater leisure, not greater industry. A normal immigration could not dissipate wholly the effects of this tendency. The great majority of immigrants are in the unskilled class of workers, and it is difficult to imagine how the work they have been accustomed to do will get done at all. There are various reasons why Europe is more attractive than it was to the workers who used to look to America as the land of promise. It has suffered heavily, to be sure, but its power of recuperation is great. The idea that it would depend upon